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ABSTRACT

The social-psychological bases of programs to prepare teachers for disadvantaged youth are as important to the eventual success of the program as any technique or lesson plan which seems to be momentarily fruitful. In view of the predicted oversupply of teachers, the school system must try to select teachers who will function best in the classroom, be able to see his role as a teacher instead of as a functionary, and give a longer period of service to teaching. The involvement of all relevant parties in the program is essential for success. A commitment to the human-centered aspect of teaching is crucial if the teacher is to reach the child. The focus of teaching must be directed to goals which are clearly related to the function of teaching. Feedback to teachers concerning the results of programs, the new procedures, the community concerns, and other matters relating to the school in a disadvantaged area is critical if programs are to receive the support of the teaching staff. [This paper was prepared for a book entitled "Urban Education in the 1970's," edited by A. Harry Passow, to be published by Teachers College Press, Fall 1970.] (JM)

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TEACHERS FOR BIG CITY SCHOOLS

The Way It Was

by Vernon F. Haubrich

In attempting a review of the efforts to staff big city schools in the past ten years, one is necessarily led to a review of his own involvement and that of others in the task. Additionally, in examining the effects of ten years or more on the education of teachers an honest perspective can be gained by looking at what one did not expect as well as the expectations of the time. Consequently, what I should like to do in this brief essay is to recount the educational situation in the late 1950's and early 1960's as it pertained to teachers and teaching, students and learning and the system of big city schools, especially in those cities with populations over 500,000. A word of caution is necessary before this analysis is begun for the tendency on the part of most is to assume that the majority of students and their parents live in cities of this size. The 26 cities in the U.S. that have more than a population of 500,000 constitute 17% of the total population.[1] We all tend to over represent the urbanization trend,[2] possibly because of the media and its focus on large cities and their problems; this has caused many in the field of education to assume that big city problems are the only problems existent today. With this cautionary note, let us review what the situation was ten years ago.

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Nothing short of the term disaster would suffice for the conditions in many

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schools in big cities in the late 1950's and early 1960's. The major elements of this situation were:

1. The burgeoning of minority group populations--especially the black and Spanish speaking--in the schools of large cities.

2. The desperate shortage of trained personnel, both teachers and administrators, in dealing with the growing number of educational, bureaucratic and para-educational problems.

3. The crisis of numbers, caused by an abnormally low birth rate in the 1930's and an abnormally high birth rate in the late 1940's and 50's. There were too few adults to education too many children.

4. The unpreparedness of the modern University and colleges to meet the growing challenges of urban education.

5. The growing tendency towards bureaucratization in big cities with large, rather impersonal controls centralized under single Boards of Education.

6. The relative decay of housing in central city areas with attendent problems in overcrowding, poor sanitation, inadequate heating and a general lack of services to the poor.

7. The flight of the middle-class, along with substantial amounts of capital, to outlying areas, causing severe budgetary crises in big city schools.

While the list could be extended, the general picture remains; there was a growing discontinuity between available resources and the needs of urban populations.

My own participation in that time of crises was an involvement with a program for the preparation of teachers for schools that were and are still called "special service" schools. Low reading scores, low achievement, high truancy, high rate of dropout, high rates of families on public welfare were but some of the indices characterizing these schools.

Junior High School 120, 119th and Madison Avenue, was the place where six prospective teachers and I found ourselves in February of 1960. Teacher dropout, the growing inability to understand and teach the school populations, and the helplessness of many teachers had caused a crisis in many ghetto schools, but the strain was especially severe in special service junion high schools. Frankly, the general uneasiness, lack of knowledge and apparent lack of success among the teachers was mirrored by my personal incompetence, lack of experience and general feeling of now knowing what to do or even how to define what had to be done. The application of "basics" which I thought I had learned proved that the "basics" were mistated, or at least inappropriate

under conditions of severe stress.

The program at Junior High School 120 for teacher preparation which evolved over a period of five years (1959-64) rested on several basic themes. First, only volunteers were accepted which meant there was a great deal of drive, interest and enthusiasm on the part of the prospective teacher. Second, they had to know, understand and be able to relate to the local community in which they were working. It was useless to view their position as an 8:30 - 3:20 job from which they would then flee to a suburban haven.

Third, extensive experience with teaching under conditions of stress was absolutely essential. A maximum number of hours in actual teaching was necessary for the process of preparation.

Fourth, the regular teacher in the classroom had to give enormous amounts of time in counseling, aiding and listening to the problems of neophyte teachers.

Fifth, a program of daily consultation between the college coordinator, the classroom teacher and the prospective teacher was deemed essential. Unique teaching approaches, the utilization of college resources and the use of public teachers and students in college classes were part of the program.

Sixth, after the preparation period of a semester was over, the student was placed in Junior High School 120, making his preparation more realistic because he

looked forward to becoming a staff member in short order.

While one cannot relate all the real and potential processes and pitfalls of the program, let me try to summarize them before moving on to the issues facing us today. First, let us look at some of the positive elements of the program.

1. Clearly the self-selective nature of the program was instrumental in causing over 80% of those who volunteered to remain at the school. When one wants to do the job, it is almost half accomplished.

2. The apprenticeship aspect of the training caused an easy identification of the prospective teacher with the existing staff.

3. The opportunity to remain in the school after the internship caused an institutional identification which is sometimes missing in programs for teacher education.

4. The fact that the college continued to remain in contact with the school, placing additional volunteers with former volunteers who had reached teacher status, gave a sense of solitary and continuity to the program.

5. The involvement of public school teachers in college classes made a genuine partnership possible.

Criticisms of the project, viewed from a perspective of ten years include the following:

1. The life of the child in an urban ghetto was never treated totally. While teachers were given an exposure to community life and organization, the life styles, problems and critical incidents of the children could not be adequately dealt with because of time, economy and the tendency of the school to isolate itself from the community.

2. A questioning of the basic premises of the school never came about. The issue of fitting the prospective teacher to the existing philosophy of the school was curcial because of the profound shortage of teachers and the press of staffing needs.

3. The mean achievement rates of students were not materially affected by the program.

4. The coordinated effort of school, welfare and community forces never came off because of the fractionalization of services to the poor.

5. The situation of the "work here--live there" teacher was never adequately resolved. The community was black and most of the prospective teachers were white. The community was Harlem and the teachers were from Queens, Brooklyn, and the Bronx.

6. The public school was, in 1960, essentially the only school available for the urban poor. We knew it, and the thrust of our program was not to question the issues

related to establishment of Black studies, Black teachers and community control, but to find ways to induct young persons into a functioning (sic) organizational pattern.

The Way It Has Become

Since 1960 several important changes have developed which have influenced and will continue to influence the staffing of schools in big cities. While the following list is not exhaustive, it indicates that there is a new ball game in the schools and that some major shifts in policy will be required to play in that game.

1. Many of the largest cities have student populations which are majority Black and/or Spanish speaking.

2. The central bureaucratic organization of big city schools has been and will continue to be under severe fire as essentially dysfunctional to teaching and learning.

3. There will be no crises of numbers in the 1970's. A sharply declining birth rate, which now is at the level of the 1930's, and the enormous numerical increase of those in teacher education will cause, for the first time in contemporary memory, a large oversupply of licensed teachers.[3]

4. A major and qualitatively different set of problems will confront the teachers of the 1970's; the problems among students will be centered on violence and the use of drugs. The effects of continued violence in Viet Nam and the impact of the media in bringing this violence to the eyes, ears and sensibilities of the young cannot have anything other than the most deleterious effects in the next decade. For 1970, the superintendent's budget for New York City schools is dramatic because it required

new and different personnel to serve the youth of the city. Among these requests are the following:

1. School centers for young pregnant school girls.

2. Preporatory programs for those in open enrollment.

3. Street Academy programs in cooperation with the Urban League.

4. An increased budget for security in schools.

The factors of mobility, poverty, alienation and disaffection have mightily influenced the young today. The major issue facing educators in the 1970's will be the crisis of confidence between the school staff on the one hand and their clientele on the other.

The Crisis of Confidence

The crisis of confidence refers to the lack of trust between practicing professionals on the one hand, and those they they are supposed to serve on the other. This situation has come about for several of those professions which could be called the helping professions--including the fields of psychiatry, social work, law medicine and teaching.

The development of professionals, whether it be in law, medicine, psychiatry, nursing, teaching, or any of those professions designed to aid people in a highly complicated, industrial, technological society, is critical to the problems we still will be facing in the last quarter of this century. Those who are in the helping professions spend their working lives serving, in a more or less direct fashion, the welfare of others. The service which is performed comes about because the professional's clientele perceives the service as <u>necessary</u> and <u>essential</u>. Additionally, professionals in the helping professions--especially teaching--should have mastered at least one specific characteristic of these professions; they must be able to engage in a two way communication with those they wish to serve. In the teaching-learning-educational transaction the client (student) responds not in terms of something that is <u>done to</u> him, but in terms of what these experiences <u>mean to</u> him. This crucial point has, I fear, been lost on many educational planners, bureaucrats and those who construct behavioral

and specific performance objectives along with tests without consideration of the meaning these have to individuals.

A professional is competent to the extent that he is secure and assured in his work, but if the client does not perceive the professional's services as essential or useful the professional, regardless of behavioral objectives, tests, or electronic junk, cannot function properly.

It is becoming all too apparent that many persons--including students, teachers, administrators and parents--have lost or are losing a perception of the school system as one that performs that essential service called teaching!

It seems to me that belaboring the lack of communication, the decline of teaching or the lack of confidence in schools does not solve any problems facing big city schools. However, a brief analysis of the crisis is necessary before directions can be stated.

One of the conditions affecting the crisis in our schools has been the growing number of children who have been classified as disadvantaged, poor, ghettozied, racially segregated, or other such terms invented by those who found themselves facing new problems in recent years. The rabbit warrens of definitions lead one into seemingly endless arguments about social disadvantagement, cultural deprivation and issues which cut across such terms as poverty, race and ethnic groups. What has happened is that we have attempted to solve the problem of school dropouts, lack of moaning in curricular content and organizational structure of schooling by lumping all problems together and diagnosing by terminology rather than by an examination of etiology. Complicating the matter has been an unfortunate tendency to equate correlation with causation (with a resulting flury of hyper-activity) which reveals little except that two variables may be correlated in a statistical manner.

At least one author has indicated that the spread of differences among the "disadvantaged" is the same as for the so called middle class.[4] What seems to be emerging from the mountains of literature on the disadvantaged is that one cannot, with any degree of assurance, write about the characteristics of the "disadvantaged." Instead what is necessary is to look at the factors which seem to cause problems for

children in relationship to learning in individual situations. Monolithic definitions of disadvantagement are as helpful as monolithic definitions of what all teachers must be or become. There are always exceptions, uniqueness and variety in the cases. Consequently, it is necessary to examine what kinds of problems exist in learning, schooling and teaching and see what these may mean for individual children in particular contexts.

The problems of the disadvantaged are familiar to those who work with the urban poor; therefore we shall briefly refer to some of the graver conditions that give rise to the crisis in confidence:

1. A lack of money affects many children who are disadvantaged. It has been demonstrated in many studies[5] that a lack of funds has important effects on a student's participation in many school activities.

2. Many disadvantaged children fail to respond to the traditional methods of school and the present school curriculum pattern. One can blame the child, or one can fault the school, but the fact of non-functioning remains.

3. Malnutrition causes depression, apathy, lethargy in school as well as at home. Of course, this affects the school performance of the child.

4. Family instability and employment difficulties among the adults in the home,[6] parents who are separated or divorced,[7] and dependency on public welfare affect the child and his potential disadvantagement. Some evidence has been accumulated on the close connections between the degree of family stability and the ability to profit from schooling.

5. Segregation in combination with limited aspirations has worked to create in the minds of many Black and minority group children a sense of inferiority, lack of positive self-image, and the stigma of being black, brown or red in a racist society.

6. The failure of the helping professions--medicine, law, psychaitry, social work and teaching--to adequately perform their tasks in and among the poor, has caused a sense of futility and low aspiration level among the disadvantaged.

7. The school system itself, and those who teach and administer its program, also aids the process of disadvantagement. We would be foolish to ignore the evidence which comes through in dropout rates, comparative scores on tests, turnover of teachers in ghetto areas, instability of program and other measures indicating the pattern of discrimination and disadvantagement which the school may, wittingly or unwittingly, cause.

A close analysis must be made within each of the helping professions in order to recognize the part each plays in causing the crisis of confidence. This I propose to do for teachers and schools.

When we attempt to look at the process of schooling, which includes teaching, learning, classrooms, administrators, textbooks, holidays, a system of rewards and punishments and other such phenomena, what we see is a social system. This system includes personnel, participants, roles, duties, expectations and a method of organization. Three aspects of this system will illustrate the institutional lock which can be placed on many children, a lock which aids in inducing a disadvantaged state. The dynamic relationship between teachers, bureaucratic structures and the communities which are either served or not served by schools will be examined in this analysis. Let us begin with the teachers.

In each report of the National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children to the President of the United States, stress has been laid on the critical importance of teacher attitude in the education of disadvantaged youth. In a revealing statement which looks to the genesis of school problems and the disadvantaged, the 1967 report notes that:

> Typically, the attitudes of teachers reflect the attitudes of society. It is society, not its corps of teachers alone, which readily applies value judgments of "good" and "bad" to such common aspects of child behavior as use of language, cleanliness, orderliness, management of time, diligence in lessons, and homework.[8]

Consequently, if we can review what it is that the teacher seems to value and expect, we may be able to see some of the problems which arise when teachers and students face each other.

In the first place, teachers are committed to a competitive ethic in American society. The structure of classrooms, the systems of rewards and punishments, the grades which are assigned, the pass-fail system, the graded system and other such devices have molded the teacher and are used, in turn, by the teacher to mold students.

Secondly, the teacher is probably oriented to future expectations and gratifications. The meaning of this for the classroom revolves about two dimensions: time and gratifications. In a real sense schools and teachers are always stressing future rewards, future payoffs and future gratifications. Saving money for the future, postponing marriage until one is situated properly, the idea of resource conservation for future generations is built into the literature, the expectations and the orientation of the teacher. When one adds to this the idea that time is also money, that we must

hurry and finish the work, that the test requires a timed work period, that we plan time today for tomorrow's work, what emerges is an orientation to work, gratification and time that movesto the future rather than to the present or past.

In addition to competition, future orientation and the postponement of gratification, there is an implicit assumption that work, in and of itself, is a positive good which enriches the life of man. Status, prestige, and reward are related to the concept of hard work, and some schools go so far as to grade children on the relative effort they make in learning when compared to their ability to do the work. For example, an excellent piece of work from a very able student may receive less than a top grade if the teacher thinks he is not "working to capacity"--whatever that means. Conversely, students who do a poor piece of work but seem to put forward extra ordinary effort to finally finish the job are rewarded for their "effort." The picture is one where students are slowly being taught the value and ethic of effort and work.

The teacher, as an agent of the social system, transmits these explicit and implicit values to all children in the classroom, for the basic assumption is that these values are prized, held and wanted by the people at large. Indeed, an industrial, technologically oriented society requires precisely those habits of punctuality, order, precision, postponement of gratification, devotion to work and maximization of effort.[9]

The second aspect of schooling which puts a lock on some children and aids in causing their disadvantagement is the structure of schooling itself. The classic analysis of bureaucratic structures was made by Max Weber in 1922. In this analysis Weber indicated that efficiency and rationality of operation are the goals of large scale organizations, and these goals are incorporated into the structure of bureaucracies by emphasizing a division of duties, equalitarian procedures, impersonal methods of selection, promotion, regulations and duties which adhere to the office, not the person in that office.

When one examines the procedures of school systems today, one finds that they follow the general rules which have developed in bureaucratic history. Duties are divided in the school (now they are referred to as job descriptions or role analysis) and each position in the school has a person who carries out the duties or tasks assigned to that position. Impersonality is generally the order of the day and the method of licensure and examinations for positions insures that personality will not enter into the picture.

When one sees just how these rules, duties and regulations affect children, the picture gets a bit "hairy." A position has been set up for a first grade teacher; duties are assigned to that role or position, and one of these is to teach the

children to read a book which enables them to pass a test which will then admit them to the next level of competition; the child takes the test and does not successfully complete the reader; he is failed and repeats the grade. Now in this entire procedure the sanctions are impersonal and there is always "nothing that can be done." There is the test (whatever its applicability or validity), there is the rule (whatever its logic or workability) and there is the child who has not passed. There is nothing to be done. While the example given may be overstated, and while the issues involved are never as simple as they seem on paper, the general thrust of bureaucratic organizations is to inculcate in the child and in the functionaires in the bureaucracy a sense that fairness has prevailed and that no one is really at fault.

A classic problem which is developing in schools today is rooted in historic conceptions of just who schools belong to and what they are for. As they seem to be developing, schools are run by technical functionaries carrying out their duties, similar to those who work for insurance companies, government agencies or water departments. The critical question is, who or what determines what these duties are and how they are to be carried out?

For an answer to this, one needs to explore the history as well as the inner workings of large scale organizations. The American school system has drawn its general philosophy from the enlightened liberal who speaks of freedom,

individuality, pluralism and the rooting of the school's control in popular hands,[10] while in actual practice there is substantial evidence that the architects of testing, classification, middle class morality and white supremacy wrote the texts, constructed the tests, taught the leaders and established the system which has proved to be a haven for the missionaries of Social Darwinism.[11] The crises of confidence in today's schools stems, at least in part, from a failure of a decent dialogue on educational policies, practices and philosophy, especially as it concerns those whom the society has labeled as poor, disadvantaged, or lower class.

The third aspect of schooling which discriminates against some children more than others is the dynamic interplay which occurs when those who teach and administer develop a series of mythologies regarding schooling, children, and just who should be educated for what. This dynamic is necessary, it seems, to protect teachers and administrators from any realistic examination of what the cause of failure might be. The mythologies concerning local control of schools, class size and learning, classroom organization, the nature of disadvantaged youth, etc. permeate the system of schooling and provide to teachers and administrators a protection which many need and few recognize as such. Efforts to change the organization of schooling, the education of teachers, the manner and means of administration or the nature of school control will face enormous resistance because of the dynamic interplay of teachers,

administrators, and bureaucratic organizations.[12]

The results of this interplay are the hallmarks of the educational system: the testing movement and its graded manner of classifying children; the track system which tends to relegate most disadvantaged youth to the lower or, at best, the middle track and uses the testing system for its support; the functionaires in the school, including counselors, who observe the results of the system and begin to make the self-fulfilling prophecies of failure for the disadvantaged; the pattern of curriculum which places great stress on a white, stereotype view of the world; the turnover of teachers which reaches almost 100% in some areas of big cities; the movement of children from school to school following parents who are searching for better quarters or who have been reloacted by urban renewal.

What these procedures, materials, methods, happenings and policies create is a sense of hopelessness before another bureaucratic agency. What the sociologists call a "dysfunctionality" is created between those who are to do something (teach) and those who are to receive something (learn). In short, a crisis of confidence is generated; the teacher lacks faith in the student, and the student does not trust the teacher. John Holt suggests that children learn, in a

sense, to desire failure when the expectation of teachers or adults is that of failure. He writes:

> Subject peoples both appease their rulers and satisfy some part of their desire for human dignity by putting on a mask--by acting much more stupid than they really are. By denying their rulers the full use of their intelligence and ability, they try to please the teacher by failing to learn as she had predicted they would. The children resort to all kinds of learning-avoidance behavior.

A Review of Programs and the Role of Teacher Education

Before dealing with teacher education programs, (compensatory education, education for disadvantaged youth and the like), I would like to sound a cautionary note about such programs. In many situations, either at the P.S. level or at colleges, "programs" exist for symbolic, public or honorific reasons and do not result in any essential change in the manner of teaching, schooling or teacher preparation, or in the structure of the institutions which purport to educate. The symbolic use of phrases and phantom programs is made all too evident by the continuing lack of any substantial pay-off in the fields of compensatory education, disadvantaged youth or teacher education. Children are continuing to go through the "falling further behind" syndrome, teachers still complain about the lack of help, parents rail at the administration, all in the face of "new programs." Educators may well note that some writers[13] have commented on the disasterous effects which follow the raising of expectations of poverty groups by established governmental agencies who use "new programs" in a symbolic instead of realistic manner.

Teacher education programs are of necessity tied to the concept of continuity. The teacher teaches as he has been taught and teaches material which he understands. Those whom he judges to be successful are passed on and some of these individuals

become, quite naturally, teachers. To expect that the teaching corps of this country, the prospective teachers in training, or those who are in the common schools and are thinking about the career of teaching will all radically change their beliefs, attitudes or outlooks, is wishful thinking. Consequently, when one speaks of "new programs for the disadvantaged" or curriculum developments for the poor or whatever in the organization of schooling, the thing which is being talked of will quickly fall into the huge bin of forgotten experiments if the education of teachers--experienced and prospective--is not <u>first</u> taken into account.

If anything could be learned from the failure of educational innovation,[14] it is that changes which schools and innovators wish to make must be done systematically, carefully, slowly and with great attention to the changes which teachers are expected to make in their normal day-to-day operations. The factors which mitigate against radical change in schooling are the teacher's personality, which is more conservative than one would like to think, the turnover of staff, courses, materials and curriculum links between higher education and elementary-secondary education. Consequently, when one speaks of team teaching, or early stimulation, or revised methods of reading, or whatever, what one must think of is the education of teachers and the re-education of teachers who will carry out the job.

A final point must be mentioned before we look at teacher education programs for the disadvantaged, and this concerns the nature of college programs today. The college and university which educates future teachers are dominated by a series of concerns, probably the least of which is the disadvantaged population--except when they can become part of a research effort. The structure of higher education is governed by the concerns of the graduate school with its emphasis on research. The model for this has been and is 19th century--the German university.[15] The education of teachers takes place in the context of this form of higher education. Teacher's views and attitudes are shaped by higher education and they enter the teaching profession as agents of the system of higher education. The social-psychological characteristics of this training include preparing the students in manipulation of words and symbols, the development of the critical or detached state of mind, and the development of intellectual understandings in and about problems, people and places. The vast majority of one's time and effort in higher education is spent at the college or university, in classrooms or laboratories or libraries, developing the attitudes, values and appreciations of those who control the courses, write the syllabi and give the lectures. The actual experience one has in training for teaching, either in a

direct or indirect fashion, is minimal unless one thinks that courses make one a teacher. Consequently, the connections between "the way it is" in schools and "the way it is" in colleges or universities depends on the correspondence of one situation with the other. The closer the goals, outlooks, values, behaviors, and ideals of the lower schools with those of the higher schools, the less problem there will be in the adjustment of the teacher to the teaching situation. The more divergent the teaching situation from the university context, the more difficult the adjustment of the teacher will be. In short, the difficulties of teachers and schools with many of the disadvantaged is the problem of two cultures attempting to speak to one another.

What emerges from the previous consideration of the system of education in the United States is that teacher education, like the system of public schools, has an enormous capacity to absorb change and not change at all. A review of programs related to the preparation of teachers indicates that the apparent philosophical differences between one program or another are but shadows in the illusory series of debates held at conventions and in classrooms.

The capacity of the system to adopt, modify, accommodate to and make regular hundreds of program changes indicates the enormous political power which

this informal system can exert. It takes virtually anyone into camp and has, as a consequence, more camp followers than troops. The endless arguments of teacher educators as to the reliability of one program as opposed to another has been so much psychological fluff. The major benefit of this type of argument is that if someone does come along to challenge the issue of what has been going on in the field, the teacher educator who is on his toes can point with some degree of pride to the unique program at Oshkosh which is exactly what the critic wishes to see. When the teacher education program of the nation is everything, it quickly becomes nothing.

To this date there are some college centered programs to prepare teachers of disadvantaged youth[16] (the exact number is elusive) which follow patterns which are relatively similar throughout the country. Such programs have been described in the literature[17] and while there may be significant variations of which I am unaware, they tend to follow a similar pattern.

First, there is an attempt in some colleges to institute new courses on the sociology, psychology, anthropology, etc. of the disadvantaged. These revisions and/or additions may be in the various departments which are involved or may be in the department of education exclusively. This approach is sometimes as far

as some programs go[18] and the necessary haste with which the material is presented makes this approach somewhat superficial.

Second, there have been attempts to provide the prospective teacher with an orientation to and a realistic view of the disadvantaged by a series of first hand experiences with community agencies serving disadvantaged youth. These contacts, designed to promote a better understanding of the culture of the disadvantaged, are usually supplemented by seminars at which the issues and problems of youth are explored. Resource personnel may include social workers, settlement house employees and other individuals serving disadvantaged youth.

Third, efforts have been made to bring the prospective teacher into contact with disadvantaged youth in both a classroom and neighborhood setting. Providing tutoring services before the actual student teaching or internship is undertaken is one of the more common methods employed by these programs. Again, these programs attempt to incorporate the experiences of students in the neighborhood centers or in the classrooms into seminars which are usually held on a weekly basis.[19] The major advantage of these direct experience programs is that they provide a strong dose of reality training to the prospective teacher, and while answers are not always readily available, the students usually react favorably to experiences which show or tell it the way it is.

In addition to courses, neighborhood experiences and internship practices for prospective teachers, some staffing and program changes have been effected by colleges and universities to support the placement of these prospective teachers in disadvantaged areas. The utilization of outside resource personnel has been one of the innovations adopted by some colleges in their programs. These auxilliary staff are usually selected either for guest lectures or to actually supervise prospective teachers, because of a degree of success they have had in school or community programs that serve disadvantaged youth. Through these and other related services to the college, efforts have been made to effect various kinds of partnerships between public schools and colleges. To date the only systematic evidence we have of the effectiveness of these newer developments are the reported descriptive comments on the programs,[20] and a limited sample of student response to the effectiveness of the preparation.

At the heart of all these developments has been the assumption that new knowledge <u>about</u> the disadvantaged must be supplemented by actual experience <u>with</u> the disadvantaged. This assumption has been evident throughout the various descriptions which the journals record. It follows a long and time honored concept in teacher education that practice with the actual teaching role must supplement the studies one follows at the

college. The practical difficulties of implementing this assumption in the various colleges throughout this land is well attested to by the relative slowness with which extended internships have developed, especially if they are in disadvantaged areas.

When one ventures beyond preparation of prospective teachers into the vast territory of in-service work, one is immediately confronted by the problem of the 2,000,000. Two million teachers teach in the public schools of this land and the nature of their re-education is so vast, so terribly complicated and compellingly important that one is tempted to deal with the matter by ignoring it. Suffice it to say that the central issue in this arena is the attitude of teachers towards the disadvantaged and a willingness to get on with the job.[21] The only systematic program which exists regarding the retraining of teachers for the disadvantaged is the five-year old program of the NDEA Institute for Teachers of Disadvantaged Youth. A survey of these programs indicated that, as in college and university programs preparing prospective teachers, heavy stress has been put on understanding the problem of disadvantaged youth and relatively little emphasis placed on instructional materials, content, and procedures which could be applied in the classroom. It probably is the case that because of the variance among the disadvantaged and the range of their abilities that any attempt to categorize content, materials, or procedures as

appropriate for only the disadvantaged will fail because of the inaccuracy in stating the problem. The tendency all of us have to seek the single answer, the infallible method, the right procedure, or the magic solution to teaching the disadvantaged is quite real, especially among those who have experienced classrooms in chaos. What seems absolutely necessary along this line is some beginning attempts to systematically record and evaluate practices which are built on solid evidence and theory and which have gained an acceptance among teachers of the disadvantaged. Prototypes of this kind are in short supply.

A large, and as yet uncharted, area of in-service preparation of teachers has been the effort of various Title 1 (ESEA) programs to conduct retraining for teachers of the disadvantaged. Some of these programs have been rather systematic in their research component and offer some promising leads for future developments in teacher attitude change. However, some disquieting results on the typical summer program have been reported, indicating that any changes which may have started in summer retraining programs tend to disappear when the regular year begins.[22] A systematic review of what kinds of links may be started between experienced teachers,

their retraining, prospective teachers and their training and the role of higher education and the schools is yet to unfold on the teacher education scene.

Two additional and very promising programs to prepare personnel for the disadvantaged are the Teacher Corps and the various programs which prepare aides for work in classrooms. Drawing on a variety of educational histories and utilizing the drive and enthusiasm of dedicated and committed young people, the Teacher Corps draws most of its candidates from college graduates who have had little or no formal preparation in teaching, and puts the prospective teachers through a two-year program which, again, places heavy emphasis on experience with the disadvantaged. An important feature of the program is the close cooperation which is required between public school systems and colleges wishing to undertake the program. While the idea of a paid internship, which is an integral part of the Teacher Corps, may be added inducement, it is clear that the Teacher Corps is utilizing some of the talent and energy which today's young people can direct to the education of disadvantaged youth. Quite clearly, the Teacher Corps needs more time for evaluation

and refinement. However, as a major thrust in the education of disadvantaged youth and a major innovation which has caught the young and dedicated college graduate, it remains one of the more fruitful approaches to training teachers for disadvantaged youth.

The preparation of teacher aides has received wide attention in recent years.[23] As a means for reaching, teaching and helping disadvantaged youth in school programs, this program, when combined with recruitment of disadvantaged adults who wish to become aides or teachers, offers immense possibilities. It seems clear that many disadvantaged groups feel left out when school policy and procedures come up for discussion. One of the unfortunate results of the gap between disadvantaged groups and the school has been school personnel's lack of understanding of the hopes, aspirations and problems which these people face. If the teacher does not know about these problems, is reluctant or incapable of finding out what the community is about or what its problems are, the gap between teacher and child, teacher and parent, and teacher and community can cause immense problems in the day-to-day operation of the classroom.

The teacher aide, when trained to act in tutoring, helping, interpreting and actual teaching, can be the "translator" between the community and the school--

especially if the aide is drawn from the disadvantaged community. Two programs for the preparation of aides--one operating in a bussing situation in a Northern city, the other on an Indian reservation--indicates the critical importance of aides in developing programs. While the classroom help which is afforded the teacher may appear to be the primary outcome of these programs, an additional dividend will be the availability of the aid to talk to parents about the school program and to teachers about the home situation. The very presence in the classroom of a person with whom the child can readily identify helps, in some measure, to bridge the chasm which separates schools from those they are to serve.

If a summary of programmatic aspects of teacher education were to be attempted, it would have to center on the concept of experience with the disadvantaged and the centrality of the apprenticeship theory of teacher education. We have assumed that if only the teacher had more information and experience with the disadvantaged all would go right with the problem. If one were to review the extent of the involvement it would vary from city to city, college to college and state to state, depending on the critical press of events at each place. Clearly there exists a close relationship between the demands of parents, the crises in classrooms, and the leadership personnel who can act in the face of crises.

What seems to characterize the crisis of confidence is a plugging of holes, a patching of wounds and lack of systematic thought on the subject. Emergency follows emergency, educational personnel are recruited and thrown into the classroom and the education of youngsters resembles a staging area for a battle rather than a place where reading, thinking and learning may proceed. I am terribly afraid that the training of teachers along with the program which the schools have developed resembles this kind of crisis thinking. The note of despondency in the results of Title I programs and in many of the special summer programs designed to prepare teachers leads me to conclude that perhaps we should look afresh at the problem to see if some new directions are indicated.

Directions and Priorities

At the outset, let me indicate that my biases are inclined towards a social-psychological view of the situation, that the preparation of teachers for the disadvantaged is one and the same with excellence of training of teachers wherever they may choose to teach, and that the problems of teaching disadvantaged youth are problems which all the helping professions must attend to--and quickly.

The first conditions which come to mind regarding directions and priorities are the impact on institutional thinking of the law of supply and demand--both at the elementary-secondary level and at the college level. One impact of the coming <u>over</u> supply of teachers could conceivably affect credit requirements, entrance exams, selection procedure, certification and licensure as well as other devices which could increase the red tape, rites of passage and entrance into teaching.

Bureaucratic tendencies in the face of an oversupply of teachers could well cause many able, enthusiastic and imaginative prospective teachers to seek other outlets for their talents. Nothing could cause greater damage to the concept of imaginative teaching in the schools of our big cities than to have additional requirements, certifications and hurdles heaped on the able young person who wishes to teach.

One of the great challanges to the profession in the next two decades will not be where the teachers will come from, but the nature of the person who will function best in the classroom, be able to see his role as teacher instead of functionary, and give a longer period of service to teaching.

The second general notion that is critical to an understanding of directions in teacher education is that of participation and involvement as crucial to the success of any educational program in a democratic society. This includes all those who live in an area, those who serve in that area and the related political figures who are decision makers in that area. One of the effects of this is that school programs and training programs must take the people who are disadvantaged into account--especially the parents. Schools serving many disadvantaged groups have not served well for many reasons as we previously noted; but one of the failings has been an almost universal lack of consideration of the desires, expectations and feelings of parents.[24]

The third general idea involved in a consideration of priorities in teacher education programs is that learning on the part of children and learning on the part of teachers is a supremely human centered affair. The kinds of

connections which we expect teachers to make with children must be made with teachers if any progress is to be made. One of the most perceptive writers on the question of reading and reading problems has written the following on the failure of special remedial programs in reading:

> The failure of our present methods of reading and language instruction derives essentially from a failure in understanding the psychology of language. The teaching machines that loom in the future are only the absurd extensions of a pedagogy that is urged on by a lunatic science to the last frontier. The educator who understands the meaning of language learning will know that it is human centered from the start and that when it is deprived of its human connections it loses its own vital substance.[25]

Consequently, the human connections which are so desperately needed for the children are in turn needed by teachers who often feel that the task is hopeless.

The fourth position I should like to suggest regarding the social-psychological aspects of teacher education for disadvantaged youth is that related to recognition and reward. It is absolutely imperative that those who are in charge of special programs to prepare educational personnel for disadvantaged youth understand that the major rewards in our schools belong to those who are intellectual, bright, conforming and the same as the teacher in outlook and demeanor. For prospective teachers and experienced teachers to undertake tutoring, teaching, aiding and working with disadvantaged youth is to engage in risks which not all can take. The kind of support which is woven into programs for the gifted or for those in the "upper track"

is implicit, related to parental approval, and permeated with the rewards which schools can give. The teachers of disadvantaged youth require, need and deserve all the recognition that other teaches receive and more.[26]

A fifth social-psychological aspect of the situation related to teachers of disadvantaged youth is that of focus. One of the easiest ways to end a program for teachers of disadvantaged youth is to expect that all of the social problems in ghettos, slums, or poverty areas will be solved by excellence of teaching. When the interconnections between the various problems in disadvantaged areas becomes clear, the task of teaching all too often appears hopeless. What is essential if one accepts this line of reasoning is that the teacher of the disadvantaged must have a limited focus of operation and be trained to handle that focus as well as we can train him. It may be that one of the first tasks of a program in depressed areas is to end the enormous teacher-administrator turnover which characterizes some of these schools. That kind of limited goal--namely to increase the stability of staff--can lead to a series of other possibilities that are related to planning, execution of program and a stable situation for children.[27]

In addition to involvement, participation, human centered teaching and a focused program, a sixth consideration in a review of programs for teachers of disadvantaged

youth is that of feedback. In a sense, feedback to teachers can be considered a part of the necessary rewards which should inhere in programs. However, it is most important to recognize that teachers of disadvantaged youth face problems of feedback that are not usual. If teachers, parents and school administrators conceive of a program for more effective teaching in the school serving disadvantaged youth, then one of the key ingredients must be the communication of the explicit and implicit results of the program to all parties. It is most crucial when teachers are working with children who have unusual problems in achievement and where success in the usual academic sense is not widely prevalent. A consistent pattern of feedback and review of programs would be one of the key items to expect in successful programs to prepare teachers of disadvantaged youth.[28]

A last consideration which I should like to suggest concerns the nature of the leadership in the program of teaching, administration and training. Over and over one sees in the literature the critical importance of the teacher who faces and works with disadvantaged youth. In a sense, this last point is somewhat dependent on and related to the other five considerations. The kind of person who is selected or who selects himself for work in disadvantaged areas will both respond to conditions and also create conditions which make for success. To enable this kind of person to function

successfully every effort should be made to create the environment conducive to excellence of performance; but in another sense, every effort should also be made to select those who will give the program that something extra, who will give the extra effort and who will center their teaching on the possibilities, not the limitations, of disadvantaged youth.

The evidence on that kind of person has been accumulating over the years,[29] but in one perceptive study, it was rather strongly urged that the teachers of disadvantaged youth who have a degree of success with the child are those who are less authoritarian, less dogmatic and less rigid than the usual norm of teachers. Freedman notes a curious paradox when he indicates a portion of the results of his study:

> In regard to personal history and trait characteristics, the pattern of volunteer responses indicated a background characterized by strivings for autonomy, for the early acceptance of childhood challenges, and by a relative freedom from symptomatic signs of diffidence and fearfulness...[30]

The paradox is that home-school environments tend to produce rather rigid persons and that with the upward mobility patterns and social origins of teachers we cannot expect unusually large numbers of open, non-authoritarian persons from prospective teachers. It seems from this that one of the prime organizational

prerequisites is that those who wish to work with disadvantaged youth and who bring these qualities of openness and flexibility to their professional tasks should be placed in positions of school leadership as rapidly as possible. While it is paradoxical that this often implies leaving the classroom, it also recognizes that principals, supervisors and other such middle management personnel can contribute greatly to the climate of openness in schools which will allow teachers to alter patterns of instruction and organization of classrooms.

In summary, what the evidence indicates is that the social-psychological underpinnings of programs to prepare teachers for disadvantaged youth are as important to the eventual success of the program as any gimmick, technique or lesson plan which seems to be momentarily fruitful. Additionally, to speak of teachers of migrants, blacks, Negroes, Puerto Ricans as constituting major variations from these basic principles is again, to miss the point that teaching is centered on the human possibilities inherent when one person inducts another into skills, tasks, procedures and ways of thinking. The considerations which seem to come through the haze and dust of journals, papers and books are, to conclude, the following:

1. In view of the predicted oversupply of teachers, the school system must try to select teachers who will function best in the classroom, be able to see his role as teacher instead of functionary, and give a longer period of service to teaching.

2. The involvement of all relevant parties in the program is an absolute prerequisite to the program's success. This includes parents, teachers, administrators and where feasible, students and community leaders.

3. A commitment to the human-centered aspect of teaching is crucial if teacher is to reach child.

4. Support and reward must be provided to those who carry forward the program.

5. The focus of teaching must be directed to goals which are more proximate than not, and more clearly related to the function of teaching. All social problems cannot be solved in the classroom, but those things which are clearly centered on learning, teaching, reading, computation and other such topics of essential concern to success in schooling must be the center of activity.

5. Feedback to teachers concerning the results of programs, the new procedures, the community concerns and other matters relating to the school in a disadvantaged area is critical if programs are to receive the support of the teaching staff.

7. The kind of person who carries forward the program of teaching and administration--open, flexible and willing to change--must be actively recruited and given the leadership roles in disadvantaged schools.

In conclusion let me state some rather general propositions which may serve to guide both the University - school axis on the one hand and the community-clientele on the other. These propositions are offered not as prescriptions for the future but as points of discussion among those who wish the common school to survive during the next generation.

First members of the School-University staffs must acknolwedge a critical re-examination of the nature, extent, direction and content of the schools operation must take place.

Second, schools, using Melvin Tumin's language, are meant for children, for their growth and for their pleasure and if, additionally, this same development of children takes place in transactions between the student and the teacher, then it follows that if children fail to develop to their potential, the shortcomings or errors are to be sought in the structure of the school system not in the innards of the children.

If one supplements the above proposition to the extent that a child takes from schooling that which is inherently valuable to him, and if one adds that there is no conceivable justification for a democratic society preferring the

education of some children over others, then it does follow that every child has a full and equal claim on the facilities and rewards of the school.

Third, the issues which face the established School-University structure is whether or not they perceive the gap which exists between the legitimate demands from areas of the society for redress of educational disenfranchisement and the state of present programs in education, teacher education and schooling. Within this general problem, what is probably critical is the nature of the person who must carry forward the task of restructuring, reorganizing and retraining the members of the teaching profession.

Last, I trust that a re-ordering of our priorities will enable a review of the context of human living in our big cities and will enable us to take a small step toward that age of Aquarius in which the uniform, standardized and homogenized may give way to the unique, compelling and individual; where a sense of passion about what human beings want for themselves, their children and their world, finally, replaces what others want to do with them. Perhaps we can look to an age in which we prize diversity and pluralism in all forms of educational enterprise to the ends of enriching and extending the values of a democratic society.

The difficulty of the task is awesome, but the rewards great. For those teachers, parents, and citizens who wish to undertake such a work, the words of the

late President Kennedy may have some meaning. In speaking of those who must actually do the work and undertake the changes he said:

> The credit belongs to the man who actually is in the arena, whose face is marred by dust and sweat and blood...who knows the great enthusiasms, the great devotions; who spends himself in a worthy cause, who at the best knows at the end the triumph of high achievement, and if he fails, at least fails while daring greatly, so that his place shall never be with those timid souls who know neither victory nor defeat.

FOOTNOTES

1. Eisenhower Commission Report on Violence in Big Cities.

2. Census Bureau classifies an urban place as one having over 2500, i.e. putting all these into category called "urban" can be disasterous, especially if one is concerned about schools in urban "big cities."

3. Ed. Professions, 1968, HEW, Office of Ed. Catalogue, SF-51258; 58032, June, 1969. P. 25-26.

4. A. Lipton, "Cultural Deprivation," Journal of Educational Sociology, 1962, pp. 17-19 and 36.

5. Harold E. Hand, Hidden Cost Studies (Springfield, Ill.: Illinois Curriculum Development Program, 1955). See also The Lynd's Study, Middletown: A Study in American Culture (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Revised, 1959).

6. Elaine M. Burgess, "Some Implications of Social Change for Dependency Among Lower Class Families," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1964, pp. 34 and 895-906.

7. Ibid., pp. 895-906.

8. O. Meredith Wilson, Chairman, National Advisory Council of the Education of Disadvantaged Children (Washington: 1900 E. Street, N.W., January 31, 1967), pp. 5-6.

9. National TEPS Commission, Remaking the World of the Career Teacher (Washington: N.E.A., 1966).

10. Clarence J. Karier, "Elite Views on American Education," Journal of Contemporary History (Vol. 2, No. 5, July, 1967) p. 150.

11. Ibid., pp. 150-155.

12. Ibid., pp. 150-155.

13. Murray Edelman, Symbolic Uses of Politics, University of Illinois Press, 1964.

14. Mathew B. Miles, Innovation in Education (Columbia: Bureau of Publication, Teachers College, 1964).

15. Frederick Rudolph, The American College and University: A History (New York: Knopf Company, 1962).

16. Gordon J. Klopf and Garda W. Bowman, Teacher Education in a Social Context (New York: Mental Health Materials Center, Inc., 1966), passim.

17. Ibid.

18. ASCD, Educating the Children of the Poor (Washington: N.E.A., 1968), pp. 16-21.

19. Ibid., pp. 20-21.

20. Ibid., pp. 34-36.

21. Wilson, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

22. Ibid., pp. 5-6.

23. Frank Fiessman and Arthur Pearl, New Careers for the Poor (New York: Free Press, 1965).

24. The best account of this is the record of frustration faced by parents in Jonathan Kozol's work, Death At An Early Age: The Destruction of the Hearts and Minds of Negro Children in Boston Public Schools (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1967).

25. Selma Fraiberg, "The Great American Reading Problem," Commentary, June, 1965.

26. Vernon F. Haubrich, "Teachers for Big City Schools," in Harry Passow (Ed.) Education in Depressed Areas (Columbia: Bureau of Publication, Teachers College, 1964).

27. Vernon F. Haubrich, "The Culturally Different: New Context for Teacher Education," Journal of Teacher Education, June, 1963.

28. Vernon F. Haubrich, "Successful Programs for the Disadvantaged: Basic Considerations," in Herbert Rudman (Ed.) Urban Schooling (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, forthcoming).

29. Phillip Freedman, "Racial Attitudes as a Factor in Teaching Education for the Deprived Child," in Vernon F. Haubrich (Ed.) Studies in Deprivation (Washington: NDEA National Institute Occasional Paper Publication, July, 1968).

30. Ibid., page 10.